

1993

Local Trade in Pre-Revolutionary New Jersey

Rebecca Yamin

Follow this and additional works at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha>



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Yamin, Rebecca (1993) "Local Trade in Pre-Revolutionary New Jersey," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 22 22, Article 9.
<https://doi.org/10.22191/neha/vol22/iss1/9> Available at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol22/iss1/9>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). It has been accepted for inclusion in Northeast Historical Archaeology by an authorized editor of The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). For more information, please contact ORB@binghamton.edu.

Local Trade in Pre-Revolutionary New Jersey

Cover Page Footnote

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in Baltimore, 1989. Begun before Bert's death, the original paper was an attempt to explain the genesis of his approach to historical archaeology. He did not think it was possible and, as usual, he was probably right. What I did learn, however, was that Bert's influence on my approach to historical archaeology was all-encompassing. It is no wonder that I often forget to give him credit for the parts. I am also grateful to Bert's students and colleagues who put together this volume. Bert was a superb editor, an act that is hard to follow.

LOCAL TRADE IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY NEW JERSEY

Rebecca Yamin

Following Bert Salwen's inductive approach to historical archaeology, this paper discusses the Raritan Landing project as a starting point for understanding local trade in pre-Revolutionary New Jersey. Salwen's dedication to "important historical issues" is demonstrated by this student's study, which moves from idiosyncratic artifact patterning to historiographic research to ceramic analysis and theoretical explanation. Tentative conclusions are drawn about New Jersey's pre-Revolutionary local trade and areas for further investigation are suggested.

A l'instar de l'approche inductive de Bert Salwen en archéologie historique propre à Bert Salwen, cet article se penche sur le Raritan Landing comme point de départ afin de comprendre le commerce local dans le New Jersey d'avant la Révolution. L'attachement de Bert Salwen aux "importantes questions historiques" se voit bien dans l'étude de l'auteur qui va de l'établissement de modèles à partir de l'artefact à l'explication théorique en passant par la recherche historiographique et l'analyse céramique. Il est tiré des conclusions provisoires touchant le commerce local dans le New Jersey pré-révolutionnaire et suggéré d'autres domaines à étudier.

From the Specific to the General

Buried in Carl Russell Fish's classic essay on the relationship between archaeology and history is a sentiment that always reminds me of Bert Salwen. "Not every town has an interesting history," wrote Fish in 1910, "but almost every one, however ugly, can be made historically interesting to its inhabitants if its streets can be made to tell its history, and by reflection something of the history of the country" (Fish 1978: 9). While committed to an anthropological method, Salwen was always doing history. From the material remains he built a story, and from the story he moved to questions of historical significance. It was an inductive approach, moving from the specificity of the artifacts to the details of the local history, and finally to more general

theoretical and historical issues. It was an approach particularly suited to small CRM projects typical of the Northeast where the project area is determined by other than scholarly interests and the initial focus is necessarily local. As applied to the Raritan Landing project, the approach led to new insights about New Jersey's local trade and raised questions requiring further investigation.

The archaeological remains of Raritan Landing, a small 18th/19th-century port on the banks of the Raritan River in Middlesex County, New Jersey (FIG. 1), were discovered in the path of a sewer already under construction. The initial documentary work, done for the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office by Richard Porter, indicated that the Landing was "an important commercial center for the cargo sloops which sailed

the coast of the Colonies" (Grossman 1978: 1). The presence of in situ archaeological deposits led to the nomination of the site to the National Register of Historic Places and ultimately to data recovery within the sewer construction corridor (conducted by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office under the direction of by Joel Grossman in 1980-1981).

Many aspects of New Jersey's past have not been studied in a scholarly way, including trade in the colonial period. When considered at all, the focus has been on foreign trade, or, more accurately, its absence. James Levitt's dissertation and subsequently published book, *For Want of Trade: Shipping and the New Jersey Ports 1680-1783* (1981), for instance, concludes that Jersey's ports failed to achieve sustained growth, "primarily due to the colony's own internal difficulties" (Levitt 1973: 230). Although Levitt explicitly discusses the efforts of New York's governors to use "every legal and some illegal means to stifle New Jersey's commercial trade," he ultimately deems Jersey's trade a failure and holds the victim responsible. He does this in spite of the fact that many small ports and landings carried on a lively local trade. Recognized by many scholars, including Levitt (McCormick 1964; Gerlach 1976), this coastal trade has received little attention and been granted minimal significance. Because the documents usually considered—even the shipping records—deal with larger-scale operations, Jersey's local trade has remained fundamentally unexplored—a historical unknown.

This is the kind of unknown that Bert Salwen encouraged his students to pursue. No, we were not to become handmaidens of historians, we were to be historians. "If, as a profession, we are to make meaningful contributions to

the understanding of the American past," he wrote, "we must, in a sense, become historians" (Salwen 1988: 11). But, in approaching historical problems, we are armed with slightly different methods and certainly different data sets. It was Salwen's contention that excavated materials could be used just as fruitfully to generate questions as to test hypotheses (Salwen 1985: 7). By allowing the artifacts, in some cases, to take the lead we might pose questions that had not been posed before. For Salwen, it was the formulation of "meaningful" questions that was the most important task facing historical archaeologists (Salwen 1985: 1; 1982: xvi). That we might have to cross and combine disciplines to answer them was unimportant. "If we are more interested in content than in form it should not matter too much if the research is conducted by an anthropological archaeologist who is firmly grounded in history or by a historian who controls the anthropological materials" (Salwen 1988: 12).

All of Salwen's work put content above form. In looking at the relationship between changes in sea level and the Archaic along the northeast coast of the U.S., the subject of his dissertation (1965) and an earlier article published in 1962, he used information on the magnitude and chronology of sea-level fluctuations to explain "hitherto puzzling changes in cultural patterns" (Salwen 1962: 54). He recognized that an interdisciplinary approach would invaluablely enrich the prehistorian's ability to explain excavated materials. His earliest work in historical archaeology, likewise, stretched the bounds of what was considered appropriate data. In a study of soup cans and their possible association with the ethnic composition of New York City neighborhoods (1973), Salwen argued that what was

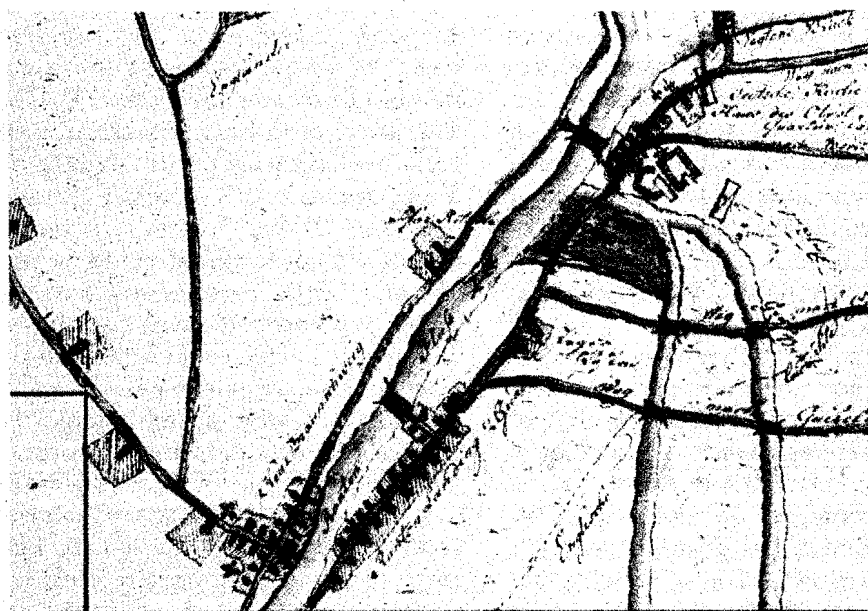


Figure 2. Raritan Landing and New Brunswick as represented in *The Diary of an American War* by the Hessian officer Captain Johann Ewald, 1777. Schematic, no scale.

important was that we search for "correlations between regular patterns of sociocultural behavior and the material products of that behavior" (1973: 155). It did not much matter where we found them or how old they were.

It is with this problem orientation and interdisciplinary attitude that I approached the study of local trade in pre-Revolutionary New Jersey. To an extent the hypothesis—the statement of problem—emerged from the artifacts. The study began with the specific and moved to the general; the methodology combined cultural anthropological theory and social historical research with classical artifact analysis. More important, the purpose was to get at a historical problem that had eluded historians, chiefly because they had no way to approach it.

The Problem

The ceramics excavated at Raritan Landing during the data recovery pro-

ject in 1980–1981 did not seem to fit their known date of deposition. The wares (and their mean ceramic dates), without documentation, would have indicated a site dating to the 1730s and 1740s. The rest of the archaeological deposits, however, as well as the historical information, suggested destruction during the Revolutionary War. The documentary study done for the data recovery (Yamin 1982) also produced unexpected results. While East Jersey's trade was supposedly dominated by New York interests, an analysis of personal, institutional, and commercial ties between Raritan Landing and the city showed diminishing contacts over time. Treating these two categories of data as separate but equally important indications of patterned behavior (Salwen 1985: 5), I set out to explain what they meant in terms of local trade.

While the ceramic study (discussed at length in Yamin 1988 and 1989) clearly demonstrates that people at

Raritan Landing made choices that were different from the choices being made at contemporaneous sites in New York City, the explanation of those choices is not a straightforward matter. A body of anthropological theory that deals with the use of artifacts in the communication of information for the purpose of boundary maintenance (e.g., Wobst 1977; Hodder 1979; Conkey 1978; Wiessner 1983; Barth 1969) provides a framework for interpreting their meaning, however. In combination with what we can reconstruct about the Raritan Landing community from the documentary data, a picture of local trade emerges that suggests things about New Jersey's history that have been previously unexplored.

The Community

Raritan Landing was, surprisingly, not unlike small ports elsewhere in the colonies. This finding is surprising because New Jersey's trade is so often described as different, as less important than that of other colonies. The community consisted of a cluster of houses, warehouses, and stores that grew up around a landing place at the head of navigation on the Raritan River (FIG. 2). All of this had been dismantled by the end of the 19th century—most of it lies buried under park land. The earliest warehouses date to about 1720 (Vermeule 1936); by 1740 there were probably about 100 families living at the Landing. The patterning of occupations that could be identified suggests that the community was never heavily agricultural; most occupations relate to port functions. It was a base for numbers of people identified as traders and carters or freighters (terms often used interchangeably), merchants, and shopkeepers.

A typical freighter (or trader) was Peter Bodine. Entries in the Janeway and Broughton general store journal and daybook (1958) record his transactions with the store, which was located in Somerset County about seven miles west (upriver) of Raritan Landing. Bodine apparently bought grain from the growers and sold it to the Janeway and Broughton storekeeper who had it freighted to various places including Raritan Landing and Perth Amboy, East Jersey's only legal entryport. The storekeeper got grain from other sources—Hagavours Mill, Abraham Van Horn, etc.—but he seems to have had a fairly regular relationship with Bodine who also did a major portion of his freighting in 1735 and 1736. A 1735 entry records, "To Peter Bodine for his freight of 2,124 wheat 2 1/2 B 13.5.6;" another in the same year is "To Peter Bodine for the freight of 2,000 B wheat to Amboy."

A more complicated entry records Peter Bodine's debts to Landing residents—Aldolphous Hardenbrook and John Bodine—for "assignments." These may be orders from Raritan Landing or New York or maybe even from abroad. Presumably they include goods that the storekeeper wanted to sell in his store.

Peter Bodine's son, John, also did regular business with the Janeway and Broughton store. (A property owned by John Bodine was within the corridor excavated by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office in 1980; FIG. 3.) Entries in the Janeway and Broughton daybook dating to the 1740s describe payments made to Bodine "in part for freight," "to buy wheat," "for 455 gallons rum bought at Brunswick," and "for freight of 7 hogsheads."

The Bodines apparently supplied the Janeway and Broughton store both with grain from the hinterland and imports, such as molasses, from Brunswick.



Figure 3. Overhead view of the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office excavations at Raritan Landing showing two foundations within the John Bodine property.

They were what the economic historian Jacob Price has called secondary traders. Drawing on his work in the Chesapeake as well as a comparison of American port towns in the 18th century, Price describes a hierarchy of traders who took part in the economic process and a related hierarchy of trading towns with specific and different trading functions (1974: 40). Secondary traders were "wholesalers who in addition to performing functions

for farmers and planters, acted as wholesale suppliers to the primary traders (that is, the country storekeepers) taking their agricultural purchases in return" (1974: 139). They lived, according to Price, along main trading routes in places convenient for their customers (the primary traders) and with easy access to the major ports. The description fits Raritan Landing perfectly. There was easy access to the storekeepers in the grain-producing

hinterland either up the "Great Road Up Raritan" or up the river, and New York City, just 40 mi (64 km) away, could be reached directly by water.

The people called merchants at Raritan Landing were traders identified directly with New York. Of the eight merchants who are mentioned at Raritan Landing at least three did not actually live there. Their names appear in the records as "of New York." Cornelius Low may have been the Landing's most wealthy resident merchant. He was one of the major landowners at Raritan Landing, had the grandest house in the community (still standing), and probably the largest storehouse. He was active in shipping and freighting from the time of his arrival in the 1730s up to his death in 1783. Although there are no extant records, Virginia Harrington claims that Low was in the drygoods business with his son, Isaac, whom she calls one of the leading merchants of New York on the eve of the Revolution (Harrington 1935: 215). Another son, Nicholas, had a shop in Philadelphia, and a third son, Cornelius Jr., was a lawyer in New Brunswick who married Catherine Hude, the daughter of New Brunswick's mayor in the late 1740s.

There is no record of Low or any of the other merchants trading overseas. As Price says, they may have ordered goods from Britain and paid for them with bills of exchange, but they did not "venture their wealth abroad; all their effects were in the country" (1974: 138). An invoice of goods to be bought in London for James Neilson of New Brunswick in 1760 is probably representative of the kind of transactions these Raritan Landing merchants also conducted. Among other things, the order included swan skins, shalloons, and poplins as well as china, shoe buckles, and spectacles.

The storekeepers at Raritan Landing were also not unlike storekeepers in other colonies. The probate inventory of John Castner, dating to 1755 (on file, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton), reveals a stock that ran the gamut from various kinds of knives (including shoemakers' knives) to slates, books, primers, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, and pewter, stoneware, and earthenware. In the clothing category, he carried cloth, buttons, shoes, garters, knee buckles, and women's mittens and sold calfskins and leather "on the side."

Another storekeeper, whose account book is in the collection of the New-York Historical Society (Brasier 1756-1763), also sold the varied merchandise of a general store. As in other colonies (Lemon 1972; Main 1985), however, he served additional functions for the community. He seems to have acted as a kind of banker, making loans and even attempting to increase his capital by taking chances on lotteries. Entries show investments in lotteries including Bedminister, for Brunswick Church, at Newark, Hackensack, Elizabethtown, Bound Brook, Second River, and on the horse races in 1760, and in Dunlaps, Province, and the Prince Town College Lottery in 1761. In 1762 he entered a Philadelphia lottery, a sundries Amboy lottery, and a bridge lottery. Prizes for some of the lotteries and cash on the horse race are recorded in the contra column.

This storekeeper, whose name does not appear in the account book (the book is mistakenly attributed to Frances Brasier in the New-York Historical Society) was probably Abraham Van Ranst (Yamin 1988: 102). By the mid 1760s he had gone into the baking business, just at the time when there were increased demands for flour and bread in Europe because of

shortages and a relaxation in the Corn Laws in order to allow the import of colonial produce. Although no foreign trade was conducted from Raritan Landing or, for that matter, from many other ports in New Jersey, this small port and undoubtedly many others were tied into what was happening internationally. As a locus of local trade it was part of the colony-wide economic process that was "export led." According to McCusker and Menard (1985: 12), each region within the colonies developed distinct methods of producing and marketing its particular export commodities. These methods led to colonial growth and "promoted an economy increasingly integrated, strong, and flexible." Although foreign trade led the process, well developed local trade was essential to its success.

This aspect of trade in New Jersey has been totally overlooked. While colonies in the Chesapeake, for instance, are described as having trade that was not necessarily centered in ur-

ban places and not solely under the control of wealthy merchants, New Jersey is described as having no trade at all. Local trade in the Chesapeake is seen as part of a system that connected hamlets at crossroads with the major ports of Charleston and Baltimore (Earle and Hoffman 1976); local trade in New Jersey is discounted.

There is, of course, a major difference. The local trade in New Jersey fed into foreign trade conducted in ports outside of New Jersey. For East Jersey, the people who managed that foreign trade (including Scottish merchants in Perth Amboy: see Landsman 1985) identified it as New York's. New Jersey's contributions were not seen as part of a system.

An analysis of documented connections between Raritan Landing families and New York families over three distinct periods in the Landing's history, however, shows shifts in alliances over time. The many connections with some of New York City's leading commercial

Table 1. Documented personal, commercial, and institutional ties between Raritan Landing residents and residents of other communities, 1720-1739.

Raritan Landing
Philip French
Adolphus Hardenbrook
Johannes Roosevelt
Cornelius Low
John Thompson
Peter Kemble

Raritan Landing
Gabriel LeBoyteaux
Paul LeBoyteaux
Peter Bodine
John Bodine
Mathias Smock

Raritan Landing
William Williamson
John Neilson

Raritan Landing
William Williamson
Peter Bodine
Peter Kemble

New York City
son of Philip French
of Hardenbrook family
son of Jacobus Roosevelt
brother of Peter Low
business tie to Samuel Bayard
married to Gertrude Gouverneur

Somerset County
of Sebring family
son of Gabriel
of Bodine Family
son of Peter
of Smock family

New Brunswick
petitioner of city charter
brother of James Neilson

Perth Amboy
boats registered
freight service to
business tie to Andrew Johnston

Table 2. Documented personal, commercial and insitutional ties between Raritan Landing residents and residents of other communities, 1740-1763.

<i>Raritan Landing</i>	<i>New York City</i>
Edward Anthill	business tie to John Watts
Cornelius Low	business tie to Susanna Lawrence
Sarah Low	marries Honorable Hugh Wallace
Gertrude Low	marries Alex Wallace
Henry Kip	business tie to Richard Kip
Johannes Tenbrook	business tie to Philip Livingston
<i>Raritan Landing</i>	<i>Somerset County</i>
Martin Beekman	brother of Henry Beekman
John and Mary Dumont	of Beekman family
Francis Brasier	of Beekman family
Alexander and Jean Blair	of Field family
John Castner	related to Albert Bohmer
John Bodine	business tie to Janeway and Broughton Store
Paul LeBoyteaux	business tie to Janeway and Broughton Store
Bernardus Legrange	marries Frances Brasier
George Vroom	of Vroom family
Charles Suydam	of Suydam family
<i>Raritan Landing</i>	<i>New Brunswick</i>
Daniel Bray	father of John Bray
Bernardus Lagrange	sponsor of Episcopal Church
Dr. William Mercer	sponsor of Episcopal Church
Cornelius Low, Jr.	marries Catherine Hude
Raritan Landing Store	business connection to James Nielson
Raritan Landing Store	business connection to John Sleight
<i>Raritan Landing</i>	<i>Perth Amboy</i>
John Barbarie	business tie to Andrew Johnson, Esquire
Daniel Bray	boats registered
Bernardus Lagrange	boats registered

families in what may be considered the Landing's developmental period (1720-1739) (TAB. 1) are replaced by increasing numbers of connections to the grain-producing hinterland in the next period (TAB. 2). From 1740-1763, when commerce was at its peak at the Landing, and after 1763 when industrial activities, especially those associated with milling, were emphasized (TAB. 3), it was the traders with family connections to Somerset county who dominated commercial activities. Interestingly, the change in orientation came just at the time New Jersey ceased to be governed jointly with New York, which had been the case from 1702-1739.

It was these secondary traders who had really invested in commerce as a way of life while their gentleman-farmer fellow villagers still dabbled in agriculture, animal husbandry, and orchard keeping. The merchants with their New York connections and the secondary traders with their ties to the grain producing hinterland, however, operated together in their common interests. No evidence has been found that would indicate that either of these groups was dominated by a particular New York merchant or shipping house.

The shift to greater emphasis on industrial activities in the 1764-1783 period also may have been a coopera

Table 3. Documented personal, commercial, and insitutional ties between Raritan Landing residents and residents of other communities, 1764-1783.

<i>Raritan Landing</i>	<i>New York City</i>
Edward Anthill	business tie to William Livingston
Evert Duyckinck	business tie to John Roosevelt
John Duyckinck	business tie to Richard Banker
Cornelius Low	in business with son, Isaac
<i>Raritan Landing</i>	<i>Somerset County</i>
John Bray	business tie to Charles Stewart
Alexander Blair	business tie to Michael Field
John Duyckinck	selling grist and fulling mills
Charles Suydam	son of Cornelius Suydam
Cornelius Suydam	son of Cornelius Suydam
John Probosco	owns mill
<i>Raritan Landing</i>	<i>New Brunswick</i>
John Bray	warehouse and wharf business tie to Robert Hude
Evert Duyckinck	business tie to James Hude

tive effort. There is evidence, for instance, that Cornelius Low, Jr. supported the transition made by the storekeeper at the Landing to the production of bread for export (Brasier 1756-1763).

The Raritan Landing Style

The shift away from New York influence was reflected in the material culture at Raritan Landing. The comparison of ceramics recovered from deposits dating to destruction wrought by the British during their occupation of New Brunswick from December 1776 to June 1777 with ceramics from deposits in Manhattan dating to about the same time suggests that the New Jerseyans were not imitating New Yorkers. Although the same ceramic wares were available at Raritan Landing and New York, and were no more costly, choices among them created a distinctive pattern. Table 4 compares vessel types found in contemporaneous deposits from Raritan Landing and Hanover Square, a site that included eight historical water lots between Pearl and Water streets in the financial district of lower Manhattan. (The 1981 excavation was

directed by Diana di Zerega Wall and Arnold Pickman, Nan Rothschild was principal investigator.)

Most striking in the Raritan Landing collection was the predominance of slip decorated buff earthenwares and the absence of creamware. Referring to Table 4, note the presence of slip-decorated buff earthenware plates in both deposits from Raritan Landing compared to their almost complete absence in the deposits from Hanover Square. Creamware, on the other hand, is unrepresented in the food consumption category at Raritan Landing while it is fairly well represented at Hanover Square. In the food service category, slip-decorated dishes, possibly also used for display, are relatively numerous in the Raritan Landing deposits and totally absent in the Hanover Square ones. For beverage consumption, there is more similarity except for teawares. They were made of delft and refined redware at the Landing; in New York there were also numerous vessels of porcelain.

It is, of course, possible that the Raritan Landing style reflects nothing more than regional tastes or parochialism or even an assimilated Dutch iden

Table 4. Comparison of vessel types from representative deposits at Raritan Landing, New Jersey with vessel types from Hanover Square, New York.

	Raritan Landing		Hanover Square	
	St. XV	Blg. C	Mid. 1	Transi.
	# (%)	# (%)	# (%)	# (%)
<i>Food Consumption</i>				
Plate/slip-decorated	4 (66.6)	4 (26.7)	-	2 (14.3)
Plate/delft	2 (33.3)	10 (66.6)	5 (62.5)	4 (28.2)
Plate/creamware	-	-	1 (12.5)	6 (42.9)
Plate/white salt glaze stwr.	-	-	-	2 (14.3)
Plate/porcelain	-	-	1 (12.5)	-
Plate/red earthenware	-	1 (6.7)	1 (12.5)	-
TOTAL	6 (99.9)	15 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	14 (100.0)
<i>Food Service</i>				
Bowl/buff slip-decorated	1 (14.3)	-	-	-
Bowl/red slip-decorated	-	1 (8.3)	-	-
Bowl/delft	1 (14.3)	1 (8.3)	1 (25.0)	1 (20.0)
Bowl/porcelain	-	1 (8.3)	-	-
Platter/slip-decorated	-	1 (8.3)	-	-
Platter/red "Donyatt"	1 (14.3)	-	-	-
Mustard pot/slip-decorated	1 (14.3)	1 (8.3)	-	-
Dish/slip-decorated	3 (42.9)	7 (58.3)	-	-
Platter/delft	-	-	-	1 (20.0)
Cake dish/creamware	-	-	-	1 (20.0)
Salt cellar/porcelain	-	-	-	1 (20.0)
Dish/delft	-	-	1 (25.0)	-
Sugar pot/porcelain	-	-	1 (25.0)	1 (20.0)
Ginger jar/porcelain	-	-	1 (25.0)	-
TOTAL	7 (100.0)	12 (99.8)	4 (100.0)	5 (100.0)
<i>Beverage Consumption</i>				
Cup(pot)/slip-decorated	2 (14.3)	18 (62.1)	4 (12.5)	5 (16.7)
Pot/white salt glazed stwr.	4 (28.6)	-	-	-
Mug/slip-decorated	1 (7.1)	3 (10.3)	-	-
Mug/buff, mottled	1 (7.1)	-	2 (6.3)	5 (16.7)
Mug/white salt glazed stwr.	2 (14.3)	-	3 (9.4)	1 (3.3)
Mug/stoneware, Westerwald	2 (14.3)	-	8 (25.0)	1 (3.3)
Mug/creamware	-	-	-	2 (6.7)
Mug/delft	-	-	1 (3.1)	-
Mug/English brown stoneware	-	-	-	2 (6.7)
Teaware/porcelain	2 (14.3)	-	10 (31.3)	7 (23.3)
Teaware/white salt glazed stwr.	-	-	-	2 (6.7)
Teaware/delft	-	5 (17.2)	2 (6.3)	-
Teaware/refined redware	-	2 (6.9)	1 (3.1)	1 (3.3)
Teaware/creamware	-	1 (3.4)	-	5 (16.7)
TOTAL	14 (100.0)	29 (99.0)	32 (100.1)	30 (100.0)

tity, but it seems more likely that it is an instance of using material things to express and maintain social boundaries. Structurally, the circumstances are similar to others described in the literature. Like groups studied in the Western Sudan (Haaland 1969), Afghanistan

(Barth 1969), and Yugoslavia (Wobst 1977), the Raritan Landing traders interacted regularly with people from whom it was to their advantage to remain distinct. Looked at another way, Raritan Landing traders maintained a distinct identity as an ex-

pression of competition over scarce resources—defined here as local trade—a situation that has been considered among African groups (Hodder 1979; Wiessner 1983) as well as elsewhere.

That the ceramics used at Raritan Landing were "out of fashion" by New York standards is also interesting. In a number of instances in the world "old" things borrowed from the dominant group have been used by another group to express their own identity. For instance, an article published in 1969 by Henning Sivert describes how Oxchuc Maya of Chiapas, Mexico use clothing styles and objects originally introduced by the Spanish to maintain ethnic boundaries in order to avoid entering Latino society on its lowest rung. Hilde Hendrickson recently studied Herero pastoralists in Namibia, who use Victorian dress and military style clothing, adopted from the English, in their "National Band" ritual activities (Hendrickson 1988).

In combination with the documentary evidence for lively local trade and the diminishing number of recorded connections between Raritan Landing and New York families after 1740, the ceramic patterning suggests that the Raritan Landing traders wanted to be independent of New York. East Jersey's foreign trade may have been dominated by New Yorkers, but her local trade was her own.

Conclusions and Questions

The vigor and independence of Jersey's local traders has been hidden by history written from another point of view. By beginning inductively and following an eclectic methodological path, a picture of this particular historical unknown begins to appear. It is a tentative picture, however, that

needs to be tested with much more archaeological data and refined in the context of more social historical information. Many questions remain unanswered. Did the Raritan Landing traders work through factors in New York to reach their overseas suppliers as did the Albany traders in the same period or were they totally dependent on the market? Were the people who moved from the Hudson Valley into the Raritan Valley at the end of the 17th century motivated as much by trading opportunities as by the availability of agricultural land? Will artifacts from other sites in New Jersey show distinctive patterning that might be an expression of boundary maintenance?

The first two questions can only be approached through the documents, if, indeed, there are documents that pertain. The last, however, is a problem for comparative artifact analysis. It is a matter of using anthropological method to answer an important historical question, Salwen's favorite approach.

Acknowledgments

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in Baltimore, 1989. Begun before Bert's death, the original paper was an attempt to explain the genesis of his approach to historical archaeology. He did not think it was possible and, as usual, he was probably right. What I did learn, however, was that Bert's influence on my approach to historical archaeology was all-encompassing. It is no wonder that I often forget to give him credit for the parts. I am also grateful to Bert's students and colleagues who put together this volume. Bert was a superb editor, an act that is hard to follow.

References

- Barth, Fredrik
1969 Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. by Fredrik Barth, 117-134. Little Brown and Company, Boston.
- Brasier, Frances
1756- Account Book, New Brunswick
1763 and Raritan Landing. The New York Historical Society, NY.
- Castner, John
1755 Probate Inventory. Wills and Inventories, Piscataway and New Brunswick, Middlesex County, New Jersey. New Jersey State Archives, Trenton.
- Conkey, Margaret W.
1978 Style and Information in Cultural Evolution: Toward a Predictive Model for the Paleolithic. In *Social Archaeology*, ed. by Charles Redman, 61-84. Academic Press, New York.
- Earle, Carville, and Ronald Hoffman
1976 Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South. *Perspectives in American History* 10: 7-78.
- Fish, Carl Russell
1978 Relation of Archaeology and History. In *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, ed. by Robert L. Schuyler, 8-10. Baywood Publishing Company, Farmingdale, NY.
- Gerlach, Larry R.
1976 *Prologue to Independence: New Jersey in the Coming of the American Revolution*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Grossman, Joel W.
1978 *The Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of Raritan Landing: Archaeological Findings, Documentary Evidence, and Data Recovery Options*. Report prepared for Charles J. Kupper, Inc. by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office, Cook College, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Haaland, Gunnar
1969 Economic Determinants in Ethnic Processes. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Differences*, ed. by Fredrik Barth, 58-73. Little Brown and Company, Boston.
- Harrington, Virginia D.
1935 *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Hendrickson, Anne Alfhild
1988 Research proposal. On file, NYU.
- Hodder, Ian
1979 Economic and Social Stress and Material Culture Patterning. *American Antiquity* 44(3): 446-454.
- Janeway and Broughton Account Books
1958 Prepared by Ken Stryker-Rodda for the Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, NJ. Microfilm.
- Landsman, Ned C.
1985 *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Levitt, James
1973 *New Jersey Shipping 1722-1764: Statistical Study*. Ph.D. Diss., University of Utah. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
1981 *For Want of Trade, Shipping and the New Jersey Ports 1680-1783*. New Jersey Historical Society, Trenton.
- Lemon, James T.
1972 *The Best Poor Man's Country*. W. W. Norton & Co., New York.
- Main, Jackson Turner
1985 *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- McCormick, Richard
1964 *New Jersey From Colony to State, 1609-1789*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ.

- McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard
1985 *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Price, Jacob M.
1974 Economic Function and the Growth of American Towns in the 18th Century. *Perspectives in American History* 8: 123-186.
- Salwen, Bert
1962 Sea Levels and Archaeology in the Long Island Sound Area. *American Antiquity* 28(1): 46-55.
1965 *Sea Levels and the Archaic Archaeology of the Northeast Coast of the United States*. Ph.D. diss., Columbia University. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
1973 *Archaeology in Megalopolis. In Research and Theory in Current Archaeology*, ed. by Charles L. Redman, 151-163. John Wiley and Sons, NY.
1982 Foreword. In *Archaeology of Urban America: the Search for Pattern and Process*, ed. by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., xiii-xvii. Academic Press, New York.
1985 Comments. In *Urbanism and Social Change in Historical Archaeology*, ed. by Nan A. Rothschild, Joan H. Geismar, and Diana di Zerega Wall. *American Archaeology* 5(3): 219-221.
1988 Archaeography, Archaeology, Anthropology and History. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Reno, NV.
- Siverts, Henning
1969 Ethnic Stability and Boundary Dynamics in Southern Mexico. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. by Fredrik Barth, 101-116. Little Brown and Company, Boston.
- Vermeule, Cornelius C.
1936 Raritan Landing That Was. *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 54(2). New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.
- Wiessner, Polly
1983 Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points. *American Antiquity* 48: 253-276.
- Wobst, H. M.
1977 Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange. In *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James Burnett Griffin*, 317-342. Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Anthropology 61. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Academic Press, NY.
- Yamin, Rebecca
1982 Historical Background and Documentary Research. In *Raritan Landing: The Archaeology of a Buried Port*, ed. by Joel Grossman. Rutgers University, New Brunswick.
1988 *The Raritan Landing Traders: Local Trade in Pre-Revolutionary New Jersey*. Ph.D. diss., New York University, New York. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor.
1989 Squeezing Ceramics for More Than Their Worth: Boundary Maintenance at an 18th-Century Port in New Jersey. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 18: 49-69.
- Rebecca Yamin
John Milner Associates
1216 Arch Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107